

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT JAMES RESTON NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED
COLUMN WEDNESDAY AUGUST 10 HEADED "IS VANCE ADVANCING?"

2. THE BIG NEWS HERE A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO WAS THAT
PRESIDENT CARTER AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN OF ISRAEL HAD
GOT ALONG LIKE OLD BUDDIES. AND NOW THE LATEST NEWS IS
THAT SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE AND THE SAME MR. BEGIN ARE
SAID TO BE FACING SOME KIND OF "CRISIS" IN US-ISRAELI
RELATIONS.

2. SO WHAT HAS HAPPENED? NOTHING (EXCLAMATION POINT)
CARTER DEALT WITH THE MANNERS OF THE BEGIN VISIT IN WASH-
INGTON AND LEFT IT TO VANCE TO DEAL WITH THE FACTS IN TEL
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AVIV. THE PRESIDENT HAS DETERMINED TO AVOID A CONFRONTA-
TION WITH BEGIN ON POLICY, SO THEIR MEETING ENCOURAGED
EXAGGERATED HOPES WHICH ARE NOW LEADING TO EXCESSIVE FEARS.
3. ACTUALLY, VERY LITTLE HAS CHANGED, BUT BEGIN HAS AT
LEAST CLARIFIED THE PROBLEM. HE IS ONE OF THOSE RARE
PRICKLY BIRDS LIKE DE GAULLE, WHO REALLY MEANS WHAT OTHERS
HAVE MERELY SAID, AND AFTER HIS AMIABLE RECEPTION IN

WASHINGTON, HE OBVIOUSLY ISN'T VERY SURE ABOUT WHAT WASHINGTON IS EITHER SAYING OR MEANING.

4. NOBODY AROUND HERE IS VERY CLEAR EITHER. JIMMY CARTER RECEIVES VISITORS FROM ABROAD THE WAY HE'D GREET STRANGERS WHO DROPPED INTO PLAINS, GA., FROM MILWAUKEE. IT'S NOT A POSE. AT FIRST MEETING, HE WANTS THEM TO FEEL AT HOME, BUT SOMETIMES THEY GO AWAY CONFUSING HIS MANNERS WITH HIS PURPOSE.

5. THERE IS SOMETHING VERY AMIABLE BUT ALSO A LITTLE CONFUSING ABOUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DIPLOMACY. IT IS IN A GREAT HURRY. IT HAD TO DEAL WITH PANAMA, AND HAS DEALT WITH IT VERY WELL SO FAR, BUT IT WANTS TO "NORMALIZE RELATIONS" WITH CUBA AND CHINA, AND FIX THINGS UP WITH RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND GET ISRAEL TO "SHAPE UP" BEFORE ANY OF THEM IS READY.

6. SECRETARY VANCE'S TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND HIS FORTHCOMING MISSION TO CHINA LATER THIS MONTH ILLUSTRATE THE PROBLEM. HE IS NOT READY TO SETTLE THE ISSUES EITHER PLACE. THEY WILL LIKE HIM, BUT NOT AGREE WITH HIM AND BEGIN IN ISRAEL IS DETERMINED TO RESIST THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSED COMPROMISES.

7. BEGIN IS NOT GOING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PALESTINE
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LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. EVEN IF THEY REPUDIATED THEIR WRITTEN COMPACT TO DESTROY THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND ACCEPTED THE PERMANENCE OF THE ISRAELI STATE UNDER UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 242 WITH SAFE BOUNDARIES, HE WOULDN'T BELIEVE THEM.

8. ALSO, BEGIN HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL NOT MAKE THE CONCESSIONS THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS WANT HIM TO MAKE: TO WITHDRAW FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE WEST BANK, AND HE REJECTS OUT OF HAND PRESIDENT CARTER'S SUGGESTIONS ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN "STATE" OR "HOMELAND" OR "ENTITY" ON WHAT HE REGARDS AS "LIBERATED" ISRAELI TERRITORY.

9. SO THERE IS OBVIOUSLY A STALEMATE, BUT NOT, IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, A CRISIS OF WAR. THE ISRAELIS HAVE THE COURAGE OF THEIR CONVICTIONS, AND IT WILL FIGHT EVEN A PREVENTIVE WAR IF NECESSARY, BUT THE ARAB STATES PROBABLY WON'T RISK IT. THE QUESTION, OR SO IT SEEMS HERE, IS HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN USE ITS INFLUENCE AND POWER TO BRING ABOUT A COMPROMISE BY SOMETHING MORE THAN PLEASANT MEETINGS OR PUBLIC VISITS.

10. AT SOME POINT, THE UNITED STATES WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO DECIDE (1) TO GUARANTEE BY TREATY THE PRE-1967 BOUNDARIES OF ISRAEL, WITH MINOR STRATEGIC AMENDMENTS; OR (2) MAKE CLEAR TO ISRAEL THAT IT WILL NOT CONTINUE TO FINANCE AND ARM A BEGIN POLICY IT THINKS WILL LEAD TO WAR; OR (3) EVADE ANY DECISION AND TAKE ITS CHANCES.

11. THE TENDENCY IN WASHINGTON NOW IS TO EVADE ANY CLEAR TREATY GUARANTEES OF ISRAEL'S PRE-1967 BORDERS--TO BE PLEASANT TO BEGIN AND TALK VAGUELY ABOUT "GOING TO GENEVA" WITH THE PALESTINIANS SOMEWHERE IN THE WINGS, BUT THIS ISN'T CONVINCING THE ISRAELIS, THE ARABS, OR THE P.L.O.

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12. SO FOR THE PRESENT EVERYBODY IS LEFT IN A STATE OF DOUBT. AS THINGS STAND NOW, THE UNITED STATES IS BACKING A GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL WITH WHOSE POLICIES IT DISAGREES, AND LEAVING ISRAEL WITHOUT THE GUARANTEES ISRAEL NEEDS. BEGIN HAS MADE THIS DILEMMA CLEAR, BUT THE ODD THING IS THAT, LIKE YITZHAK RABIN AND GOLDA MEIR BEFORE HIM, HE HAS SHOWN LITTLE INTEREST IN AN AMERICAN SECURITY TREATY, WHICH IS PROBABLY THE ONLY THING THAT WILL BREAK THE STALEMATE.

13. WITHOUT SUCH A GUARANTEE, THE PHILOSOPHIC AND HISTORIC ARGUMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES CAN GO ON FOR YEARS, AND WILL PROBABLY LOITER DOWN IN THE END TO ANOTHER WAR WITH MORE DEVASTATING WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES.

14. ACCORDINGLY, THIS DILEMMA CALLS FOR SOMETHING MORE THAN JIMMY CARTER'S KINDLY MANNERS AND CY VANCE'S PATIENT TRAVELS AROUND THE MIDDLE-EASTERN CAPITALS. IT NEEDS A DECISION BY THE UNITED STATES, CLEAR TO ALL SIDES, THAT IF ISRAEL WITHDRAWS TO THE PRE-1967 BORDERS, OR THEREABOUTS, THE UNITED STATES WILL DEFEND THOSE BORDERS AGAINST ANY AGGRESSOR INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION.
(END TEXT) CHRISTOPHER

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